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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

REPORT ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
APARTHEID IN THE FORTY-EIGHTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA, HELD AT DURBAN,
SOUTH AFRICA, FROM 2 TO 6 JULY 1991

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INTRODUCTION

1. On 30 May 1991, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), received an invitation from Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Secretary for International Affairs of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), to attend the forty-eighth National Conference of ANC as an observer. The Conference was scheduled to be held at Durban, South Africa, from 2 to 6 July 1991.

2. At its 7th meeting, on 21 June 1991, the Working Group of the Special Committee considered the invitation and decided to recommend that the Special Committee accept that invitation. On 25 June 1991, the Special Committee subsequently approved that decision without objection by any State Member of the Special Committee.

3. The delegation of the Special Committee comprised its Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria) and Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria). The delegation was serviced by Mr. Detlef Wilke, Centre against Apartheid.

I. PARTICIPANTS, AGENDA AND PROCEEDINGS

4. The forty-eighth National Conference of ANC, entitled "Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future", was attended by 2,000 delegates from all the regions in South Africa. In addition, 356 international guests from 56 countries and 11 international organizations participated in the opening and closing sessions on Tuesday, 2 July 1991, and Saturday, 6 July 1991. While delegates to the Conference discussed the agenda items as outlined in the programme of the Conference (see annex I to the present report), international guests were offered information tours and briefings on issues under consideration in the Conference.

5. The Conference was opened with a prayer by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. The delegates and guests were welcomed officially by Mr. Jacob Zuma, Chairman of ANC in the Southern Natal Province. Statements were made by the President of ANC, Mr. Oliver Tambo, and the Deputy President, Mr. Nelson Mandela (see annex II to the present report).

6. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Walter Sisulu, at the opening meeting, international guests delivered statements and/or read out messages. The first international speaker addressing the Conference was the representative of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. Ignatius C. Ollisemeka, Director-General, Ministry of External Affairs of Nigeria. He was followed by the Chairman of the Special Committee (see annex III to the present report).

7. The Conference was also addressed by 20 other delegations representing a wide variety of parties, solidarity organizations, and anti-apartheid movements, concerned foreign individuals and institutions of Government.

II. MEETING WITH THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

8. On 3 July 1991, the Chairman of the Special Committee met with Mr. Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of ANC. The Chairman thanked Mr. Mandela for the invitation to participate in the Conference. He informed Mr. Mandela that the Special Committee had proceeded with the arrangements for the visit to South Africa despite a critical statement of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) issued on 24 June 1991. The Chairman extended the greetings of the Special Committee and expressed the wish for the successful conclusion of the Conference.

9. The Chairman stated the need for the Special Committee to be in close contact with ANC, in particular Mr. Mandela, in order to coordinate and define action with regard to the issue of maintaining international pressure on Pretoria and of finding solutions to the ongoing violence in the country. Especially in the light of the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, the input from ANC would be required in order to advise the international community regarding the nature of leverage that the international community should exercise on Pretoria. The Chairman also informed Mr. Mandela of the recent activities of the Committee, including the meeting at Prague on Eastern Europe and South Africa and the proceedings and results of the International Conference on the Educational Needs of the Victims of Apartheid in South Africa, held at the headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Paris, from 25 to 27 June 1991.

10. In response, Mr. Mandela thanked the Special Committee for its work and expressed appreciation for its participation in the ANC Conference. He noted that proponents of the complete isolation of South Africa should review their position in order to allow for the friends of the South African people to participate in actions promoting their legitimate and just aspirations. While the isolation of the regime in Pretoria should be continued with full force one should refrain from isolating the people and the mass democratic movement from their friends. Mr. Mandela informed the Chairman that he had discussed that issue with the Secretary-General of the United Nations at their meeting at the OAU conference at Abuja. He would welcome a fact-finding mission by the United Nations to South Africa later in 1991 and stated that the National Executive Committee of ANC discussed and endorsed such a mission.

11. Mr. Mandela reaffirmed his position with regard to sanctions as expressed in his statement at the opening session of the Conference. While sanctions were intended to induce the South African Government to scrap all racial and discriminatory laws as well as the whole apartheid structures, much remained to be done until all rights of South African citizenship had been extended to all the people of South Africa, in particular the right to vote and the right

of participation in government. Although it should be recognized that progress had been made, apartheid had not been eliminated and therefore sanctions had to be maintained. The judgement of the international community on the progress in South Africa should not merely be based on the disappearance of apartheid laws but should focus on what replaced them. In that regard, Mr. Mandela expressed the view that the United States should not rush into premature action to lift sanctions under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

12. With regard to the pervasive violence, Mr. Mandela disclosed that, while admitting that part of the public violence was the result of conflict between the supporters of ANC and of Inkatha, ANC has clear evidence to prove that a lot of the violence was being orchestrated by the regime to underscore the point that the blacks were not united. To prove the involvement of the regime in such violence, Mr. Mandela drew attention to two incidents that had taken place in July and October 1990. First, there was the regime-sponsored attack on civilians at Sebokeng by Inkatha followers in broad daylight, leading to the death of 30 ANC supporters. The security forces had done nothing and had made no arrests. Secondly, in October 1990, some members of Inkatha had overrun an ANC-dominated camp and installed themselves there while confiscating furniture and belongings of the premises' occupants. Once again, the police had neither acted to stop nor had they investigated the incident. In each of those cases, some of those who had participated in the attacks had later confessed, to the embarrassment of the regime, the active role played by the security forces. Thirdly, he stated that there was other circumstantial evidence to prove the involvement of the regime in some recent acts of violence in the country.

13. On the desired unity of the opponents of apartheid, he disclosed that, at the village level, there was a real degree of cooperation between supporters of ANC and of Inkatha. A Patriotic Front was also being forged by ANC and PAC. The problem now was the presence of a third force organized by the State to draw a wedge between the liberation movements, which had contributed to the escalation of violence in the country. In that connection, ANC was continuing its broad consultations with other opponents of apartheid, notably PAC and Inkatha, to bring the situation under control. He stated that, although the results of such consultations had so far not been translated into halting the violence, ANC was not giving up its efforts.

III. CONCLUSION

14. The mission of the Special Committee to honour ANC by accepting its invitation to participate in the forty-eighth National Conference at Durban, South Africa, was successful. The mission was undertaken in the context of General Assembly resolution 45/176 E of 19 December 1990, authorizing the Special Committee to conduct discussions with anti-apartheid groups and individuals inside and outside South Africa. The message of solidarity that was delivered at the opening session of the Conference was very well received. The historic nature of the Special Committee's participation in an

anti-apartheid movement's conference taking place inside South Africa was appreciated. The discussions that the delegation of the Special Committee held with the leadership of ANC were very rewarding to both sides. The exchange of views will no doubt assist the Special Committee in its consultations with various regional groups of Member States in preparation for the forthcoming General Assembly.

15. Finally, the Special Committee wishes to place on record its thanks to ANC for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to its delegation to the historic Conference.

Annex I

PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

"Transfer of Power to the People
for a Democratic Future"

FORTY-EIGHTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

DURBAN

2-6 JULY 1991

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1991 ANC National Conference Programme**TUESDAY, 2 JULY****Open session****8h00 - 8h55****8h00****8h30****8h50****Cultural programme**

Delegates to take their seats

Guests to take their seats

Presidium to take their seats: Walter
Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Reg September,
Gertrude Shope, Joe Slovo, Jacob Zuma**8h55 - 10h00**

Arrival of President and party

National Anthem

Prayer: Archbishop Huddleston

Welcome: Jacob Zuma

10h00 - 12h00

Presidential Address

12h00 - 13h30Statements by guests and messages of
support**13h30 - 15h00**

Lunch

All further sessions closed until the final session of conference.**15h00 - 15h30****Plenary**

Adoption of:

Agenda

Standing orders

Endorsement of steering committee

15h30 - 16h00

Clarification on Presidential Address

"Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future"

1991 ANC National Conference Programme

TUESDAY, 2 JULY, CONTINUED

16h00 - 17h00	Presentation of Secretary-General's report
17h00 - 17h20	Clarification on Secretary-General's report
17h20 - 17h30	Credentials report
17h30 - 18h00	Electoral Commission report on nomination procedure
18h00 - 20h00	Supper
20h00 - 21h15	Discussion on Secretary-General's report
21h15 - 22h15	Presentation of Treasurer-General's report

"Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future"

1991 ANC National Conference Programme**WEDNESDAY, 3 JULY**

8h00 - 9h30	Discussion on Treasurer-General's report
9h30 - 10h00	Explanation of Commissions
10h00	Delegates proceed to Commission rooms
10h30 - 13h00	Commissions convene in five groups: A1 ANC Constitution (Venue: T1) A2 Violence (Venue: T2) A3 Negotiations (Venue: T3) A4 Building organisation (Main hall) A5 Strategy and Tactics (Venue: T4)
13h00	Nominations for officers and KBC close
13h00 - 14h30	Lunch
14h30 - 17h30	Commissions A2, A3, A4, A5 continue Commission A1 completes required recommendations for plenary
17h30	Acceptance/refusal by nominees close
17h30 - 18h00	Supper

"Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future"

1991 ANC National Conference Programme

WEDNESDAY, 3 JULY, CONTINUED

19h00 - 21h00

Plenary

- Adoption of ANC Constitution provisions
- Endorsement of Electoral Commission
- Electoral Commission announces procedures for election of office bearers and NEC. Electoral Commission will run sessions to explain electoral procedures to regional delegations (timetable to be announced)

"Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future"

1991 ANC National Conference Programme

THURSDAY, 4 JULY

8h00 - 10h00

10h30 - 13h00

Commissions A1 to A5 reconvene

Commission A1 continues (Venue:

T1)

Commission A5 continues, receives

reports from Violence,

Negotiations and Building

organisation (Venue: T4)

Specialised commissions on policy-related areas convene:

B1 Land (Venue: T2)

B2 Economic Policy (Venue: T3)

B3 Health and Social Welfare

(Venue: T5)

B4 Local and Regional

Government (Venue: T6)

B5 Education (Venue: L9)

B6 A New Constitution and Bill

of Rights for SA (Venue: L10)

B7 International Relations

(Venue: L18)

B8 Integrated Development

Strategy (Venue: L19)

B9 Information Strategy (Main

Hall)

B10 Finance (Venue: L16)

13h00 - 14h30

Lunch

"Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future"

1991 ANC National Conference Programme

THURSDAY, 4 JULY, CONTINUED

14h30 - 17h30

Plenary

Adoption of resolutions of
specialised Commissions

17h30 - 19h00

Supper

19h00 - 21h00

Plenary continues: Adoption of
resolutions of specialised
Commissions continues

Election of officers and NEC begins and continues through Friday

"Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future"

1991 ANC National Conference Programme

FRIDAY, 5 JULY

Election of officers and NEC continues

8h30 - 13h00

Plenary

- Adoption of resolutions of specialised Commissions continues

13h00 - 15h00

Lunch

15h00 - 22h00

Adoption of reports from Commissions A2-A5

15h00 - 16h15

A2 Violence

16h15 - 17h30

A3 Negotiations

17h30 - 19h00

Supper

19h00 - 20h15

A4 Building organisation

20h15 - 22h00

A5 Strategy and Tactics

"Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future"

1991 ANC National Conference Programme

SATURDAY, 6 JULY

8h30 - 13h00	Plenary Adoption of Constitution
13h00 - 14h00	Lunch
14h00 - 15h00	Plenary: continuation
15h00 - 16h00	Programme of Action: adoption
Open session 16h00 - 18h00	Announcement of election results Conference Declaration Closing address by President National Anthem

"Transfer of Power to the People for a Democratic Future"

NATIONAL RALLY

SUNDAY, 7 JULY, 10 A.M. TO 3 P.M.

KINGS PARK STADIUM

CULTURAL ITEMS

INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW NEC

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

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Annex II

STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

A. Statement by Mr. Oliver R. Tambo, President of ANC

We welcome you all with boundless joy, especially the delegates, who represent the hopes and aspirations of millions of our people across the length and breadth of our strife-torn country. We welcome you, conscious of the fact that you have come here propelled by a burning desire to make this Conference the last one we ever shall have to hold under minority rule.

We salute our allies in the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We salute the ANC Youth League - the future of our country. We salute the ANC Women's League for steadfastly championing our cause and particularly the largely unresolved issue of women's emancipation. We salute commanders and combatants of our glorious army Umkhonto we Sizwe for the sterling contribution they have made to the struggle.

This Conference is not only unique because it takes place in South Africa after a period of three decades, but also because of its representativeness. Given the cloud of uncertainty hanging over our country and the climate of confrontation fostered by enemies of peace and democracy and given our people's and the world's impatience with oppression, decisions emanating from this Conference must infuse South Africa and our entire region with consequences of historical magnitude. For congregated within these four walls is the voice of reason, the voice of freedom, the voice of peace - in fact the voice of humanity.

It is my task to present a report back to our movement, our people and country, on the mission we were assigned to do outside the country more than three decades ago. I present this report on behalf of my colleagues in the National Executive Committee, my peers and fellow combatants in the external mission - both the living and the departed. In this context, we pay special tribute to the heroes and heroines of our struggle. The names of Robert Gesha, J. B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Florance Maphoso, Lilian Ngoyi, Moses Mabhida, Johnny Makhatini, Duma Nokwe, Yusif Dadoo, Vuyisile Mini and countless others will for ever remain on the roll of honour of our struggle. We shall always remember them for their outstanding contribution.

Because the history of the past 30 years is as vast as the road we have traversed, one can but only mention landmarks in this report. In 1959, ANC took a decision that Comrade Josia Matlou and I were to leave the country. Our mission was to rally international support for the isolation of the apartheid State. We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle. Comrade Matlou left before me. I left the country in 1960, a week

after the Sharpeville massacre and just before ANC and PAC were banned. Sharpeville, of course, marked a major watershed in our history and ushered in a whole new era.

Permit me to strike a personal note. I crossed the border illegally into the then Bechuanaland with the help of Ronald Segal. I was aided too by the late Sir Seretse Khama and spent some time in protective custody because of kidnap threats by South African agents.

Together with Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Segal, I proceeded to Tanganyika. It was there that we met Mwalimu Nyerere, who was heading the struggle for his country's independence. We were amongst the first freedom fighters to be received by this great son of Africa. Those were hopeful and exciting days. They were also particularly frugal ones where we often did not know where the next meal was coming from.

From Tanganyika we went to Ghana where we met Kwame Nkrumah. It was there that the idea of a united front was discussed between ANC, PAC, SACP and an organization that was later to be known as the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia. Our discussions on this issue were finalized in London and the South African United Front was formed. Thus, began our international crusade to win friends and isolate the racists.

It must be emphasized that the fundamental question that we then had to resolve was how to transform our movement to meet the new situation in South Africa. The choice confronting us by a vicious and violent regime was to submit or to fight. Rather than surrender, we chose the path of armed struggle. Our role outside was to prepare conditions for the politico-military training of cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Here at home, the leadership was recruiting cadres to go for training as well as building the underground.

In this regard our mission abroad worked hard to ensure that the world was mobilized in support of our struggle. We appealed for the isolation of the regime and urged the international community to support our armed struggle. From the very beginning we made steady gains in this regard. The Socialist countries, notably the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the newly independent countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia threw their full weight behind our struggle. Most of these were willing to support the armed struggle.

In the West, we succeeded in encouraging the formation of a powerful anti-apartheid movement and other formations that helped to isolate the Pretoria regime. We are honoured by the presence of the President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, none other than that great friend of the South African People, Bishop Trevor Huddleston. I am sure you will all agree with me that he is a most fitting representative of the international anti-apartheid forces. Welcome home Father. Welcome home Isitwalandwe Huddleston.

Our position in international organizations, like the non-aligned movement, the Afro-Asian solidarity organization and so forth became unassailable. By 1974, the General Assembly of the United Nations was able to refuse the credentials of the South African representative, despite strong resistance from some Western countries. It is a measure of our success that by 1989 ANC had more representatives abroad than the South African Government.

Whilst we registered early victories on the international front, here at home we suffered a devastating set-back at the hands of a regime armed with Draconian laws of repression. The Rivonia arrests and the smashing of our underground structures set us back many years. Although colonialism was collapsing in Africa, our subregion was still in the grip of reaction. The imperialist Powers collaborated with Pretoria, Portugal and Rhodesia against the liberation movements. The cordon sanitaire they erected made it difficult for our Umkhonto combatants to return home. Following our discussions with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), we decided to send a detachment into Rhodesia, with instructions that they were to fight their way back home.

It was in 1967 that a combined force of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Zimbabwe Independent People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) crossed the Zambezi into Rhodesia. This marked the beginning of what was known as the Wankie-Spolilo campaigns. As well as being an attempt to return home, this was a practical manifestation of our solidarity with our sister people in the front-line States. In this regard, our combatants, together with their Zimbabwean comrades, acquitted themselves heroically in battles against the combined Smith and Voster forces. They carried out their mission gallantly and valiantly. We salute Basil February, Patrick Molawa, Andries Motsepe and other comrades who lie buried in the soil of liberated Zimbabwe. However, at the conclusion of the Wankie and Spolilo campaigns, our problem of re-establishing ANC inside remained essentially unresolved.

By 1969, it was considered necessary to hold a National Consultative Conference at Morogoro, United Republic of Tanzania. The conference was to take stock of the totality of our experience and, on the basis of that, to map out the way forward. Morogoro became a landmark and a turning-point in our struggle. It was that conference that produced a comprehensive document on the strategy and tactics of ANC.

Reporting to our Second National Consultative Conference, in 1985, the National Executive made the following observation about Morogoro: "Out of Morogoro came significant results, the most important being the reorientation of our movement towards the prosecution and intensification of our struggle inside South Africa, the restoration and reinforcement of unity within our ranks and the integration of all revolutionaries within the external mission of ANC." The decision to open up membership in ANC to all South Africans, regardless of the colour of their skin, was a giant leap forward towards true non-racialism within ANC.

From Morogoro we created the Revolutionary Council, which was charged with the responsibility of prosecuting the struggle inside the country. We

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later replaced the Revolutionary Council with the Political Military Council, which was answerable to the National Executive Committee (NEC) and, under its leadership, forward machineries were established. As a result, the post-1976 era witnessed a rapid re-emergence of ANC inside the country. Some of the many factors that contributed to this development were the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the June 1976 uprisings. Following this, thousands of young people who went into exile at the time found a political home in ANC.

On the other hand, the independence of Angola and Mozambique created new possibilities for our struggle. Angola provided us with military bases. The Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), under the leadership of the late President Agostino Neto, allowed us training facilities regardless of its own serious problems. In spite of years of destabilization by the regime, Angola stood firm and with the assistance of Cuban and Soviet internationalism turned the tide against Pretoria. It was at Cuito Cuanavale that the South African Defence Forces (SADF) met its match. Victory there opened the way for Namibia's independence and Pretoria's historic retreat in our region.

The cohesion and steadfastness of the front-line States proved decisive in enhancing our striking capacity. If these countries had not acted together and created a united front against apartheid South Africa, we would have been in serious trouble. In this regard, the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 further consolidated the strength of the anti-colonial struggles in our region. Thus, the balance of forces was irrevocably shifted in our favour.

However, in an attempt to roll the wheel of history back, these States were subjected to the most brutal form of destabilization by South Africa. Together with our hosts, members of ANC became victims of cross-border raids. We remember our martyrs who fell at Matola, Maseru, Gaborone and other places. The remains of Obadi Mokgabudi, Gene Gugushe, William Khanyile, Morris Seabelo and many others remain buried in the front-line States and must be brought back home. Representatives of these States have joined us today, to once more reaffirm their unflinching support for our cause. We are grateful to them and to their people for all they have done for us. Never shall we forget the support they rendered and continue to render to us.

Whilst aiming to destabilize the front-line States, the regime increased efforts to weaken ANC through the infiltration of its agents. Comrades were poisoned in the camps, others kidnapped and many more killed. And in 1984 enemy agents managed to start a mutiny in our camps in Angola. We could not allow the enemy to destabilize us with impunity. We strengthened our department of intelligence and security and sought to contain the dangers posed by infiltration. We have now released all agents we held but must continue to uphold our vigilance.

One of the greatest historical failures of our times has been the inability of successive white regimes to halt our struggle. Even at the most difficult times our people never surrendered. Whether it was under the banner of black consciousness in the late 1960s and the 1970s or with the Durban strikes of 1973, our people never ceased to struggle. As a result, despite

all the schemes aimed at destroying our movement we grew both in stature and effectiveness. Our survival and growth as a fighting force is the major victory that our people have scored under difficult conditions of illegality.

As well as fighting the regime, we consciously prepared our people to play a meaningful role in a liberated South Africa. In this regard, we founded the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College at Morogoro, United Republic of Tanzania, in 1979. When we approached the Tanzanian Government with the idea of a school, they readily gave us land on which the college stands today.

The beginning of the 1980s witnessed the maturing of both the subjective and objective factors in favour of our people's victory. As we were poised for a great leap forward, we designated the 1980s the "decade of freedom". We proceeded to call upon our people to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. To this call our people responded in the thousands. Everywhere in the country, popular organs of people's power emerged, challenging the apartheid structures.

Our people's confidence in their ability to defeat the regime was restored by the daring armed actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The blows which were struck at SASOL, Voortrekte Hoogte, Koberg and other installations inspired our people and demoralized the regime. In this regard, we pay special tribute to Barney Molokwane, Clifford Brown, Ronald Malapa and other glorious martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice in the service of their people and country. In the same period we successfully re-established the underground in the country as a vital pillar of struggle.

It was this underground that, through its propaganda and leadership, stimulated the formation of the mass democratic organizations. With the dynamic growth of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) we reached the point where our four main pillars of struggle - mass struggle, armed struggle, the underground and international support - posed the most serious challenge to white minority rule ever seen in our country. As a result, the regime was forced to declare a state of emergency in 1985. As the crisis of the apartheid State deepened, so did the confidence in our victory grow.

Internationally, there was an almost universal turning of the tide in favour of our struggle. Even the traditional allies of the regime found it impossible to continue supporting apartheid. It was in this context that, in 1987, an official ANC delegation was received at Washington, for the very first time. And at last, the United States Administration fell in line with other Governments that had long been supporting our cause. In this respect we would like to single out the powerful and consistent support provided over the years by Sweden and Norway.

Even as we made these impressive gains, it is fair to say that on some issues and in some instances we could have put up a better performance than we actually did. It was with the view of resolving some of our subjective weaknesses that we convened our Second National Consultative Conference at Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985.

That conference took place against a climate of heightened confrontations between our people on the one hand and the regime on the other. Like today, the regime and the South African press sought to create divisions amongst us by resorting to all sorts of schemes, including attempts to draw a wedge between the youth and the older generation within ANC. None of these schemes succeeded. Amongst its many positive decisions, the Conference resolved to open up the membership in NEC to all South Africans. We, therefore, became second to SACP, the first truly non-racial political movement in South Africa. We also resolved to strengthen democratic practices within the movement and, in particular, to address urgently the gender issue. Further, we resolved to rally to the defence of our people by intensifying the struggle inside the country. Of note was the way we stressed the important balance and relationship between the main pillars of our struggle. We stressed that in struggle, even where arms were employed, the masses were the key to change. Above all we emerged from the Conference as a united and strengthened organization, much to the dismay of our adversaries.

By the time of the Kabwe Conference we had succeeded in placing the issue of the transference of political power firmly on the agenda. This reality was beginning to be recognized by far-sighted sections of the white community who began to seek discussions regarding the future of our country. More importantly, contacts between democratic forces inside and outside were intensifying. In the circumstances, the need to address conditions under which we would be prepared to negotiate a democratic transfer of power was placed on the agenda. Equally, we had to elaborate principles upon which the constitution of a democratic State would be founded.

In response to these, we issued an NEC statement in 1987 outlining conditions under which we would be prepared to enter into negotiations with the regime. At the same time, we commissioned the ANC Constitutional Committee to begin elaborating constitutional principles on the basis of the Freedom Charter. It was our view that such principles would constitute a basis for a national debate on the new constitution. We therefore hoped to initiate a process whereby the new constitution would emerge from the people themselves. Through these and other initiatives the ANC increasingly defined the terrain and tempo of our struggle. In this manner we provided overall leadership to the country.

Even as we provided leadership, we were always conscious of the fact that ANC was the people's parliament. The widespread circulation of constitutional guidelines was a further assertion of the sovereignty of the people. The unity in action of our people has remained the guiding beacon throughout the days of illegality. To reach our goal of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, sooner rather than later, then we must not deviate from this course.

In this context, we considered it important that decisions of ANC were to be shaped by popular mass endorsement at all times. Even if such decisions were acceptable within the movement, they would have come to naught unless they enjoyed popular support beyond the bounds of ANC itself. Whilst our

policies were in terms of our beliefs and convictions, they also reflected and served the people's interests. Above all, we sought to make the people part and parcel of our decisions.

Operating within the logic of a people's struggle - armed and political, and supported by the international community, we managed to push the enemy into crisis which could not be resolved within the confines of the old order. For the first time possibilities were created to end apartheid and national oppression through negotiations. As a result of struggle, the closed door that our late President, Chief A. J. Luthuli, knocked on for many decades was finally opened. It is our responsibility and destiny to seize this historic opportunity.

In this regard, it was vital that we did not surrender the initiative to our adversaries. We initiated a process of wide-ranging discussions within ANC, between ANC and the mass democratic movement and between ANC and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and, in particular, the front-line States. These consultations resulted in the adoption by OAU of the Harare Declaration in 1989, the endorsement of this declaration by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth and the adoption of the United Nations consensus resolution on South Africa of 1989.

Once more, the world stood united behind democratic forces in this country. The unfolding democratization process is, therefore, taking place on the basis of the agenda set by ourselves. Accordingly, we must continue to assert ANC's leadership of this process. This means that we have an ongoing responsibility to lead the process of negotiations. As in the past, our leadership should be exercised both here and abroad. This becomes even more important given the changing face of the international community. We must therefore refocus international attention on the need of continued support, including support we shall need in order to reconstruct our country and the region in the post-apartheid era.

I was struck down by a stroke on the eve of the adoption of the Harare Declaration. The Deputy President will continue with this report in a moment. However, I wish to pay a special tribute to all of you here, and many more around the world who wished me a speedy recovery from ill health which at times gave cause for concern. In particular, I thank my security aides who were the first on the scene and who to this day have continued to provide me with tremendous support and help. I must also thank President Kenneth Kaunda, who did everything possible to save my life - including paying all expenses relating to my illness and sending his best doctor and nurse to accompany me to London. Many comrades who visited me in Sweden and London were of great help towards my recovery as was the prayers many of you offered. Finally, I want to thank my wife Adeliade and my family for giving me the love and the support I could not have survived without.

Before I conclude I wish to make a few observations. We did not tear ourselves apart because of lack of progress at times. We were always ready to accept our mistakes and to correct them. Above all we succeeded in fostering

and defending the unity of ANC and the unity of our people in general. Even in bleak moments, we were never in doubt regarding the winning of freedom. We have never been in doubt that the people's cause shall triumph.

Statement by Mr. Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of ANC

I would like to join our President, Comrade O. R. Tambo, in welcoming you all to Conference. As he has said, this is an historic occasion not only for ANC but also with regard to the future of our country.

It is an incontestable fact that the millions of our people and many more internationally are looking forward to the results of this Conference in the expectation that at the end we will convey to them all a message of hope that the long days of apartheid tyranny are about to end.

We shall not, through our own acts of omission or commission, disappoint these expectations by reducing the Conference to just another event in the political calendar of our country. The week ahead of us is therefore very important.

Consequently, we are very pleased that we have present in his hall representatives of all the organized structures of ANC, as well as observers from our allied organizations. During the few days ahead of us we will have to take very important decisions which may very well decide the fate of this country for many years to come.

It will therefore be required of each one of us that we approach all issues on our agenda with all due seriousness. We expect of all of us rational and constructive debate. Out of that debate must come equally rational, constructive and realistic decisions, aimed at taking South Africa forward as quickly as possible to its destination as a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

The Conference here today is the culmination of a singularly democratic process. It is a little over a year since ANC began the task of reconstituting itself as a public organization in our country. You delegates have been chosen by close to 1,000 branches to represent the views of our entire membership. Your branches have participated in rigorous discussions concerning our strategy, constitution, organization and policy.

You have been elected by a thoroughly democratic process. The procedures that have brought you here are unique in this country. There are not many movements or organizations that can claim to measure up to these democratic standards. Certainly, outside the ranks of the mass democratic and trade union movement, such practices are virtually unheard of. The very process that brings us together here is an outstanding example of participatory democracy, which augurs well for the future.

Let us continue to demonstrate in our debates here this week that we stand by the principles of freedom of expression. All views are entitled to be aired. It is through vigorous and constructive debate that together we will chart the path ahead.

We have convened as part of our continuing effort to make further inputs into the unstoppable offensive to end the criminal system of apartheid, to transform South Africa into a non-racial democracy and to reconstruct it as a country of justice, prosperity and peace for all our people, both Black and White, in keeping with the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter.

In this regard, the first point we would like to make is that it is the responsibility of our movement to be in the vanguard of the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country. We must both lead and learn from our people.

We make this point not out of any feeling of arrogance or superiority over any other political formation. We say it to make the point that ANC is the repository of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people. In terms of mass support and for reasons that are very easy to understand, we are the major political formation in this country.

Secondly, because it is the oldest formation among the forces that are fighting for the victory of the perspective of a non-racial democracy, ANC contains within it a unique reservoir of experience of the struggle for democracy, equality and an end to racism in all its forms.

ANC has a proud record of struggle and resistance to the efforts of successive white minority regimes to entrench this system and make it an everlasting reality defining the nature and functioning of South African society.

It is precisely that struggle which has changed the balance of forces to such an extent that the apartheid system is now in retreat. Through the struggles of our people ANC has been unbanned and we are able to meet in our own country today. A regime whose ideology is based on a virulent anti-communism has been forced to unban our ally, the South African Communist Party, and remove provisions from the law prohibiting the propagation of communist ideas.

We have with us many of our friends from the rest of the world who, only a short while ago, would not have been able to enter this country. They have come here at the invitation of ANC in order to demonstrate their continuing solidarity with our cause.

All of these developments represent important victories of the heroic struggle that the masses of our people have waged under the leadership of ANC.

It is our movement that has the vision, the policies, the programmes and the mature leadership which will take our country from its apartheid past to its democratic future.

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From this Conference we must formulate the strategies and provide the leadership that can and will enable us to lead all the people of South Africa to the goal which the overwhelming majority seeks, that of justice, democracy, peace and prosperity.

In a period of transition, in which we will experience many things for the first time, we are bound to make mistakes and experience failures. We must make sure that we recognize these quickly, assess them, criticize ourselves where necessary, learn what has to be learnt and emerge from these stronger and better able to carry out our historic mission.

The ability to conduct struggle is gained in struggle. The ability to score victories is a function of experience that we gain in struggle. Experience also means mistakes and failures. It is by learning from these that we are able to struggle in a better way. Fear of mistakes and failures means only one thing. It means fear of engaging in struggle.

As a result of the struggle that we waged for decades, the balance of forces has changed to such an extent that the ruling National Party, which thought it could maintain the system of White minority domination for ever, has been obliged to accept the fact that it has no strength to sustain the apartheid system and that it must enter into negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people. Negotiations constitute a victory of our struggle and a defeat for the ruling group which thought it could exercise a monopoly of political power for ever.

When we decided to take up arms, it was because the only other choice was to surrender and submit to slavery. This was not a decision we took lightly. We were always ready, as we are now, to seize any genuine opportunity that might arise to secure the liberation of our people by peaceful means.

We are very conscious that the process could not be smooth since we are dealing with a regime that is steeped in a culture of racism, violence and domination. We are dealing with a group of politicians who do not want to negotiate themselves out of power and representatives of the State who fear the impact of democratic change.

The point that must be clearly understood is that the struggle is not over, and negotiations themselves are a theatre of struggle, subject to advances and reverses as any other form of struggle.

Despite our own heroic efforts, we have not defeated the regime. Consequently, we see negotiations as a continuation of the struggle leading to our central objective: the transfer of power to the people. There are therefore some issues that are non-negotiable: among others our demands for one person one vote. A united South Africa, the liberation of women and the protection of fundamental human rights.

As a movement we recognize the fact that apart from ourselves there are other political formations in the country. These are as entitled to exist as

we are. They have a right to formulate their own policies and to contest for support for their policies and organizations. We have agreed to enter into talks with all these, and have been talking to most of them, because we have no desire whatsoever to impose our views on everybody else.

We have never claimed that we have a monopoly of wisdom and that only our views and policies are legitimate. As a democratic movement we shall continue to defend the right of all our people to freedom of thought, association and organization. It is precisely because of this that we have firmly committed ourselves to the perspective of a multi-party democracy.

We say all this to contribute to our preparations for the period ahead of us when we shall enter into negotiations which will determine the destiny of our country for the foreseeable future. We must participate in these processes with a clear vision of what we want to achieve, with a clear view of the procedures we must follow to ensure that our representatives are properly mandated and that they report back to us, and with a clear view of the process of negotiations.

Our demand is for freedom now! It can never be in our interest that we prolong the agony of the apartheid system. It does not serve the interests of the masses we represent and the country as a whole that we delay the realization of the achievement of the objective of the transfer of power to the people.

Therefore it is necessary that we should have an idea of the time-frame we visualize for the processes which must take us to the election of a parliament representative of all the people of our country.

What, then, are the principal steps that we foresee on the road to this goal? First of all, there remains the matter of the complete removal of obstacles to negotiations as spelt out in the Harare Declaration. This must now include the question of the ending of the campaign of terror against the people in this province, in the Transvaal and in the rest of our country.

When these issues have been attended to, we should then move to convene the All-Party Congress. Out of that Congress must emerge a number of very important decisions. These will include agreed constitutional principles. The mechanism to draw up the new constitution, the establishment of an interim Government and the role of the international community during transitional period.

We still have to grapple with the fact that the process of the removal of obstacles to negotiations has not yet been completed. We will discuss this question, bearing in mind both the progress achieved and what still remains to be done. One of the issues we must note carefully is the way in which the Government has acted to discredit the process of negotiations, by dragging it feet in terms of implementing what has been agreed.

This has come as no surprise. It has never been on the agenda of the National Party to enter into negotiations with anybody other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power. It is also in this context that we should understand the use of violence to derail the peace process.

All of us present in this hall know that there are people within our country, and within State structures, who remain opposed to the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy. Not only do these forces of reaction stand against the realization of that ultimate goal, they are also opposed to each and every step that has so far been taken to build towards the accomplishment of this objective.

They did not and do not like the fact that agreement was reached to release all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the free return of all exiles, to terminate political trials, to end the state of emergency, to review security legislation and so on.

They took fright at the prospect of these agreements being implemented because they knew that sooner or later this process would lead to the democratization of political power in our country and, therefore, the creation of the possibility for the people themselves to dismantle the system of apartheid and to create a society that would be in keeping with the genuine aspirations of all citizens of our country. That is precisely why there has been the escalation of public violence such as we have experienced during the last 12 months.

It was not because we were failing that they decided to shoot the people down. It was exactly because we are succeeding. The lesson from all this must surely be that as long as we make progress towards the achievement of our goals, so must we expect that those who fundamentally disagree with these goals will resort to violence and terror to deny us the possibility to move forward.

A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the presently ruling National Party to demonstrate that it is, in practical terms, as committed to change as its statements suggest. This it cannot do by engaging in manoeuvres designed to discredit the process of negotiations.

Neither can it expect that we will accept its good faith when it sits paralysed as the security forces it controls themselves engage in violence against the people, permit such violence to occur and remain immune from prosecution when there is clear evidence of their involvement or connivance at the murder of innocent people.

Consequently, nobody should complain when we accuse the Pretoria regime of pursuing a double agenda, one of talking peace while actually conducting war. It is for this regime to demonstrate its good faith not by what it says but by what it does.

What is of strategic importance for us is that we must defend the lives of our people at the same time as we push the process forward leading to the transfer of power into their hands. We should not allow the situation whereby those who deliberately inject violence into our communities succeed in their intention of slowing down the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country through the use of such violence.

We must defend peace at the same time as we advance towards people's power. We must engage in successful defensive battles against the country-revolution at the same time as we conduct successful offensive battles to defeat the apartheid system. This is a struggle we must fight on all fronts simultaneously.

The Conference has a responsibility to consider these questions, which pose important strategic and tactical challenges. In this context, we will need to assess the correctness of the positions we have adopted, the effectiveness of the actions we have taken, the possibilities we face in the future and arrive at decisions that will ensure that we do not submit to an agenda that has been set by the forces of counter-revolution, but pursue our own agenda whose core must always remain the speedy transfer of power into the hands of the people.

The Conference will have to consider all issues that relate to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations and take all the necessary decisions. I have no doubt that our struggle to create such a climate will succeed as I am certain that our offensive to achieve the democratic transformation of our country will triumph.

Accordingly, in our planning we must proceed beyond the mere removal of obstacles, important as this issue might be. We must engage one another in serious discussion about how we should manage the period of transition which our country has entered.

From all that has happened so far, it seems clear that this period is likely to prove one of the most difficult, complex and challenging in the entire life of our organization. It is therefore one that we must all approach with the greatest vigilance and firmness with respect to matters of principle, clarity with regard to strategy and timeliness and flexibility with reference to tactical issues.

One of the first principal policy questions we are going to face during the transitional period, and in the context of the process of negotiations, is the issue of the All-Party Congress. With regard to this matter, we must evolve a clearer idea on such questions as the composition of this Congress, its agenda, the manner of its functioning and the length of time we propose that it should sit.

The Conference should bear in mind the fact that we ourselves said that the All-Party Congress should convene when the obstacles to negotiations have been removed. Accordingly, we must calculate on the Congress taking place

sooner rather than later and therefore approach all preparations for our own participation with some urgency.

Similarly, we must discuss the issue of constitutional principles which will be on the agenda of the All-Party Congress. Fortunately, we have a draft document on this issue, prepared some time ago by our Constitutional Committee and which we have been discussing in our branches and regions. I refer here to the documents dealing with constitutional principles and a bill of rights.

These are important documents as they spell out our views on the framework and the broad character of the new constitution. We must ensure that these do indeed advance our fundamental perspective of the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

We must also discuss the issue of the mechanism to draw up the new constitution. As all of us know, we are convinced that this mechanism should be an elected constituent assembly and have made this into one of our major campaigning slogans.

The winning of the objective of a constituent assembly will not be achieved solely through the negotiation process. It will require the generation of mass support for this demand. We reject the regime's contention that mass mobilization stands in the way of the negotiating process. In the absence of voting rights, the only power we can exercise is the power and the strength of our organized people.

But we must also deal with other important matters that arise in the context of the constituent assembly. To have an elected constituent assembly means that we must have elections. For us to succeed in those elections we must prepare for them, bearing in mind the fact that throughout the period of its existence ANC has never participated in general elections.

We must therefore take all the necessary decisions that will enable us to engage in this process successfully. Among other things, this means that we must have the necessary policies to present to the country at large and the organizational machinery to do this. It also means that we must have clear ideas about such questions as electoral systems and the demarcation of boundaries of constituencies.

As you are aware, another issue which belongs within the transitional period is the question of the interim Government. The importance of the matter cannot be overemphasized. Among ourselves we are agreed that it would be incorrect and unacceptable that during this transitional period one of the parties to the negotiations, in this case the National Party, should continue to govern the country on its own.

An interim Government will therefore have to be formed and constituted into such a manner that it is broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country. To that extent, it will take on the character of a transitional government of national unity. Once this Government is formed, we

will have reached the situation whereby, for the first time this century, South Africa will cease to be ruled by a White minority regime.

In this regard we must provide the lead on all major questions that will affect the constitution of an interim Government as well as its lifespan.

It would be important that we have some idea of the time-frame within which the new constitution should be drawn up and adopted. We certainly do not want a long-drawn or endless process with regard to this matter. In the end, as we have said already, the sooner power transfers into the hands of the people the better.

The international community continues to be of vital importance to the future of our country. This will remain the case even after we have won our freedom. In both the Harare and United Nations Declarations, it is visualized that a stage will be reached when this community will determine that we have arrived at an internationally acceptable solution to the South African question. This would then enable the rest of the world to welcome democratic South Africa as an equal partner among the community of nations.

But before we reach that stage, it would be important that we discuss the question of the possible role of the international community during the transitional period and the role it could play to expedite this process so that we move forward with minimum delay towards the accomplishment of our cherished goals. The Conference will therefore have to deal with this matter as well.

Needless to say, the transitional period is not an end in itself. It constitutes the conveyor belt which should take us through to the goal of a democratic South Africa. At the end of this road and the beginning of another, is the question of the exercise of political power. It takes it that we all agree that when the moment comes ANC will present itself to the country at large for the election into the new parliament.

It therefore seems obvious that we should continue the work we have been doing already of preparing our policy positions on all major questions of public life. We have already had to explain ourselves to the people as a whole, in terms of these various policy positions. The country has understood that we needed the time to work out these positions as we had to rebuild our movement after 30 years of illegality.

But obviously elaboration of policy cannot itself go on forever. We must begin to arrive at firm conclusions about what we would do with the country once we become the governing party. Conference should at least give the broad guidelines which will enable the movement as a whole to move forward and arrive at these basic policy positions as quickly as possible.

The matter should not be underestimated that all our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us this responsibility. They want us to speak with one consistent voice and put forward a clear vision.

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It is clear from everything we have said that there are very many major tasks ahead of us. Their accomplishment will be of critical importance not only to ANC and its allies but to the country as a whole and to the millions of people who are not necessarily members of our organization.

We must therefore closely scrutinize the issue of our organizational capacity to carry out these tasks. If we are weak, we will not be able to realize our goals. If we work in a confused manner, we will not be able to take the country forward.

The Secretary-General will be presenting the report on the organization. Therefore I will not go into any detail with regard to the issues that confront us in this area of our work. I would, however, like to draw your attention to a few issues which I am sure the Conference will have to discuss.

Organizationally, what do we need? We need a movement that is organizationally strong in terms of the membership that it attracts into its ranks. After 17 months of legality, we have recruited 700,000 members. Even though the effort has been commendable, there is no room for complacency and much more work has got to be done to draw millions of all our people into ANC.

We must also express concern at the proportionately low number of members that is drawn from rural areas. We must also do more to attract members from the middle strata.

We can ill afford to be content with the relatively low level of success that we are making with regard to drawing Whites, Coloureds and Indians into the organization. We must ask ourselves frankly why this is so. In this context, we should not be afraid to confront the real issue that these national minorities might have fears about the future which fears we should address.

We must remain a movement representative of all the people of South Africa - a people's movement, both in name and in reality. As we build our organization, we must therefore constantly watch this issue to ensure that we do not just concentrate on one sector of our population.

Apart from ANC itself, our movement has three other important component parts. These are the Youth and Women's Leagues, and the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The responsibilities that fall on the shoulders of the leagues are very heavy indeed. It is part of our task to ensure that they are themselves strong enough to carry out these responsibilities.

They, like ANC itself, should understand the point clearly that they are charged with the task of leading not just their own members. They must, each in its own sector, lead the millions falling within their constituencies. Thus when we talk of mass action, it must be real mass action which draws into struggle not just members but the masses of the people we represent.

At the same time, we need to pay better attention to our heroic army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, than we have done during the past year or so. MK has been at the centre of our struggle in the past and delivered the telling blows that brought us to the point where a negotiated solution became possible.

It is proper that this Conference should pay homage to all the commanders and combatants of MK who laid down their lives and made other invaluable sacrifices that have brought us to where we are today. We are very glad that some of those who survived during the course of that struggle are with us today.

Some of them were serving long sentences, but we managed to get them out, even to the point where the notorious Robben Island prison has at last been closed down. Some of them are serving commanders of the people's army, but we have succeeded to get them to be present at this, their Conference. Of those that were sentenced to death, we have ensured that none will hang! Soon we shall have all of them among us, to continue the struggle for the victory of the people's cause.

We have suspended armed action, but have not terminated the armed struggle. Whether it is deployed inside the country or outside, Umkhonto we Sizwe therefore has a responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness in case the forces of counter-revolution once more block the path to a peaceful transition to a democratic society.

New challenges will face MK in the context of the installation of the interim Government. As we have said, this is one of the issues we will have to discuss, an important part of which will be the issue of the control of the security forces by such a Government. It is clear that MK will have to play a vital role in these processes. Where it can, it must, of course, make its expertise available to those communities that are engaged in the process of establishing their self-defence units.

At the same time, MK must prepare itself to become part of the new national defence force we shall have to build as part of the process of the reconstruction of our country. The task of training this cadre cannot await the adoption of a democratic constitution but must be carried out now to ensure that, as happened in Zimbabwe and Namibia, when the time comes to rebuild our defence forces, we are ready to participate in these processes in defence of our democratic gains.

Such are some of the major tasks that confront MK during this period. To carry them out properly requires that all the necessary logistic be made available. But it also requires that MK continues to be an army that is committed to the democratic perspective that we represent.

We will also be discussing the new constitution of ANC. Quite clearly we must ensure that we agree on a structure which enables the membership to participate in the formulation of policy and direction of the work of the movement while the leadership we will elect recognizes that it is accountable without compromising its ability to lead.

But whatever our constitution will say, it will only function properly if we all proceed from the position that we are all comrades, bound together by common goals, with all of us equally committed to make a contribution to the realization of those common goals. Much work remains to be done among us all to raise the level of political consciousness so that every cadre, however high the position they may occupy, is schooled in the policies of our movement, its character, its strategy and tactics.

Certainly, we must also resist the efforts of some among the media to encourage factions within the movement by suggesting there are groups locked in mortal combat, there is a division between the exiles and the internal group, the ex-prisoners and somebody else, the so-called militants and moderates.

We should not tolerate the formation of factions within the movement. The best means of ensuring this is through open democratic discussion within our ranks so that no one feels excluded or denied the right to express his or her opinion.

Many people both inside and outside our country repeatedly raise the question of our relations with the Communist Party. We would therefore like to take this opportunity once more to reiterate the fact that we consider the South African Communist Party a firm and dependable ally in the common struggle to rid our country of the system of White minority rule. We will therefore rebuff all attempts to drive a wedge between our two organizations.

At the same time, the point must be borne in mind that the SACP is a separate organization which does not seek to dominate ANC as the ANC. ANC, for its part, does not seek to dominate the Communist Party. The policies of ANC are not decided in the Communist Party as neither are the policies of SACP decided in ANC, regardless of the number of people who might be members of both organizations.

Both we and the Communist Party must be judged by the policies we espouse and the things we do to propagate and advance those views. We believe our detractors should outgrow the pathological anti-communism of the period of the cold war, stop the red-baiting and live up to the commitment they all express in favour of a multi-party democracy.

The other member of our alliance is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). We would like to reaffirm our firm determination to respect the independence of the trade union movement and to act in a manner consistent with this position, both now and in future. We are ready to act in support of positions that are put forward by this allied organization with regard to issues such as retrenchment, a living wage and the workers' charter.

The incoming National Executive Committee will have to ensure that our tripartite alliance works better than it has done in the past. This will ensure that we use the collective strength represented by our respective organizations in a better way.

We have also advanced the perspective of a front of all patriotic forces. Undoubtedly a report will be presented to the Conference on this matter. The unity of our people, and the organizations that represent them, has always been central to both our thinking and to our practice. Unity remains important to this day. It must remain an essential part of our activities, from the branch upwards.

Our contact with various organizations has not been as strong as it should be. This, too, will have to be corrected.

Our strength lies in the masses of the people. We must therefore continue to pay the closest attention to the issue of our work among the masses. They must see ANC as their organization, one that represents their aspirations and actually advances their interests.

We must ensure that these masses are in fact engaged in struggle and are drawn into the fundamental discussion which must now take place about the future of our country. To ensure that these do not remain mere slogans and pious wishes, we must pay attention to the importance of door-to-door campaigning and the value of small local meetings.

We must help entrench the culture of political tolerance amongst our people. We reiterate, it is absolutely impermissible for any one of us to use force against the people. As we continue to engage in mass struggles, we must ensure that the people join these struggles as a result of conviction and not because of intimidation.

We must stand out as an unchallenged example of a real people's movement, in touch with these masses, responsive to their needs, capable of drawing them into action in their millions and enjoying their genuine allegiance and voluntary support. Hopefully the Conference will address this question as well and be unsparing in its analysis and criticism of where we might have failed to relate to the masses in the manner I have described, so that we do indeed strengthen our links with these masses.

The continued support of the international community remains vital for the victory of our cause. We also need further to strengthen our links with the rest of the world to ensure that the international community, so well represented here today, remains engaged not only in the struggle against apartheid but also in the struggle for the democratic transformation of our country.

From this international community we shall therefore require continuing political and material support for the present phase of our struggle. But equally we will need to prepare these friendly nations to come to our aid as we carry out the enormous tasks that will face us during the period of the reconstruction of our country, as well as define the place of a democratic South Africa within that international community. These are matters of critical importance to our people as a whole and will have to be discussed bearing in mind this reality.

Undoubtedly, we will also continue our discussions of the sanctions question which we began at our consultative conference last December. The challenge that faces us with regard to this question is that we should find ways and means by which we arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions and help create the situation whereby we do not lose this weapon which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted.

Let me take this opportunity once more to join our President in saluting our honoured international guests who are with us today and pay tribute to them for everything they have contributed to the protracted struggle which has brought us to where we are today. We thank you most sincerely for your support and are confident that you will stay the course with us not only to end the system of apartheid but to help us rebuild this otherwise beautiful country.

While you are with us, we hope that you will see a little bit of it, talk to as many of our people as you can and gain a better understanding of the challenges that ANC and the rest of the democratic movement face. The masses of our people will undoubtedly feel greatly strengthened that you were able to visit them directly to express your solidarity and to strengthen the bonds of friendship which must underpin the relations that a free South Africa will have with the rest of the world.

We would also like to thank all of our other distinguished guests from within our country, including the members of the diplomatic corps, who took time off to be with us today. We deeply appreciate the interest you have shown in our Conference and trust that you will accept its results as a contribution to the common concern we share of the speedy transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

I would like to thank all the comrades and friends who have been involved in the work of preparing this Conference. They have had to attend to a lot of issues. To honour and respect their contribution to the struggle, we are called upon as delegates to go about the business of our Conference with all due diligence and seriousness. I wish all of you success.

Finally, I would like to thank the Vice Chancellor of the University of Durban Westville, Professor Reddy and all other members of the University for making the University available for our historic Conference. We have no words to express our gratitude but trust that the results of our Conference will help to reinforce the work in which you yourselves are engaged, of transforming this centre of learning and the educational system as a whole in keeping with our common aspiration to create a just society. Thank you for your attention.

Annex III

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Just over one year ago, Deputy President of ANC, Comrade Nelson Mandela, addressed the United Nations under the auspices of the Special Committee against Apartheid. It was with great emotion that I chaired that occasion and it is with great emotion as well as a deep sense of history that I stand before you today to convey the greetings of the Special Committee. This is the first time, since its inception in 1962, that a representative of the Special Committee stands on South African soil. In the past 30 years, we have walked the path of struggle together with you and we have felt your pain at every turn of the turbulent history of your country.

The Special Committee has endeavoured, during these long years, to carry out its mandate given to it by the General Assembly to keep the flame of solidarity with the people of South Africa alive throughout the world. It did so, and continues to do so, in the firm belief that until every South African can stand tall in his/her land of birth, free of oppression and able to enjoy his fundamental human rights, none of us can feel completely free. Freedom is, indeed, indivisible. The fact that we are here today, at your invitation, in your own country, bears witness to our continued determination to walk with you the final stretch towards the new united non-racial and democratic South Africa that all of us have fought for so long.

The first national Conference of your Congress taking place on your country's soil in over three decades is clearly very significant. It is even more significant that it is taking place when an unprecedented opportunity for profound change has opened up in your country. The Special Committee recognizes that the recent repeals of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts as well as the inhuman Population Registration Act are indeed positive steps.

It is, however, the view of the Special Committee that, positive as these steps may be, the international community must be cautious in its expression of euphoria concerning the changes. The repeal of the main pillars of apartheid does not repeal the legacy of political, social and economic injustices linked to the deeply entrenched discriminatory structures, attitudes and practices of apartheid. Indeed, there are many more obstacles to be overcome if a system based on equality, democracy and the rule of law is to be achieved in South Africa.

The Special Committee has similarly noted that agreement has not yet been reached on how and when negotiations on a new Constitution will start. Neither has the South African regime fulfilled all the conditions called for in the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly in 1989, to establish a climate conducive for negotiations. Hundreds of political prisoners continue to languish in jail, some with the threat of execution hanging on them while thousands of exiles have not been allowed to return home without restrictions.

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Perhaps most disturbing of all is the pervasive violence which has engulfed the country and which has shown little likelihood of abating. This threatens to derail the fragile and complex negotiating process. Progress towards negotiations is also hindered by the monumental socio-economic problems facing the poorest sections of the South African population and the apparent unwillingness of the regime to develop a unified and comprehensive policy of economic restitution to effectively address the situation.

It is also public knowledge that under apartheid, your country has the dismal distinction of having one of the highest degrees of social and economic inequality of all countries in the world for which comparable data is available. Over 60 per cent of all the Blacks now live below the poverty line. The majority of your country's men and women continue to face high levels of unemployment, monumental crisis in education, appalling living conditions and a health care system that is in disarray. The persistence of these inequalities fuels the deep frustrations and divisions shown by apartheid over generations and contributes to the escalating violence.

ANC has always been one of the pre-eminent standard bearers in the struggle. Your unwavering commitment to the cause of freedom throughout the long years of struggle under repression or in exile has been an inspiration to millions of freedom-loving people throughout the world. The Special Committee salutes the National Executive and members of ANC for keeping the flag of liberation constantly flying.

We of the Special Committee believe that the task of transforming yourselves now from a liberation movement into a political party is not an easy one, particularly under the present precarious conditions in your country. We however wish you the best in facing the monumental task of rebuilding your country and pledge our full and determined support. The Special Committee has constantly reminded the international community that when negotiations towards a new constitution finally start, they will be held not between two parties of equal moral strength, but between the present authorities who have their origins in the universally condemned system of apartheid and movements which have fought for the advent of equality and justice in South Africa. Therefore, until such time that a new constitution is adopted and that all South Africans can fully participate in the shaping of their country's policies, it is of crucial importance that the international community abides by the letter and spirit of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and that the consensus forged during the adoption of this Declaration which was maintained at the last session of the General Assembly be preserved. In maintaining this position, we in the Special Committee recognize that serious strides have been made by the Pretoria regime, but insist that much more needs to be done to completely dismantle apartheid. In particular, urgent steps are required to effect an end to the escalating violence, release of all political prisoners, total repeal of all remaining pillars of apartheid and all repressive legislation designed to circumscribe political activity.

These measures would go a long way towards rebuilding the confidence of all parties concerned in the current process of peaceful change in South Africa. Furthermore, a firm commitment by Pretoria to the establishment of a comprehensive programme of socio-economic redress for the black population would not only be a measure of justice but also create a stable environment for future economic growth of the country. This same commitment is needed to ensure that a new Constitution which establishes a non-racial and democratic society is put into place in South Africa as soon as possible. Only then could we say that a profound and irreversible change has set in and that a new era in South Africa has begun.

In conclusion, let me express our most sincere best wishes for successful deliberations at this conference. The eyes of the world are on you, filled with extraordinary goodwill and hopes for a peaceful and speedy establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa to replace the discredited and obnoxious system of apartheid. Your role in achieving this goal is crucial. May God give you the strength and guidance on the difficult but achievable task ahead.
